/80/

Seventh Chapter

000

March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakaïrí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry, 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly; off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] [487] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "quemadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty [136] ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis); in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[7] /see the glossary, p.170 / of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs; a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate [342] vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

● 622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

[7] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly:
115 one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."
[177] Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of
[131] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Paressi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira.
122 I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

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361

Bakaïrí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo --
123 who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and
[191] warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity
[622] never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakaïrí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakaïrí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the 'twenties, when 179 648 797 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them; he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakaïrí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a [622] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grass widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 24 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 177 304 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because 142 141 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/119/

000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.; in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter; the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that we were in the Bergischen /a hilly countryside near the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- farm houses in front of the bush, the quemada like potato fields; -- in the gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies: on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

● [622] 142 291 301 302 → [241] ←

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122 485 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/119 cont./

361 The aldeament on the Paranatinga was smaller than the
● 622 one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community
578 seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near
[197] his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakaïrí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172 / in a northerly direction. The Bakaïrí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own.
164 Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease; the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

162 At the time of our visit the Bakaïrí population was made up
621 of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí[1] women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luis and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

115 Luis, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he
[191] chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words; "esse mêmo" -- "stimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the
144 soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luis maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakaïrí father and

[1] [Cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SP2 Apiaca in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/164 cont./

287 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischá tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

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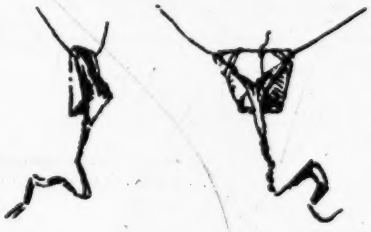

Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/169 cont./

126 [301] I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. -- 301 237 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 [554] [302] Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair. One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 345 353 The two large huts were round, the two small ones elliptically long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut, we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful 292 532 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 168-162/.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "åla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a king-fisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even [296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "åla, åla" was very humble and urgent.

/52 cont./

123 609 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

[501] [291] [411] The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad, crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 152 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had [576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and 551 622 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 609 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

[262] Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third from the right),[1] was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
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[301]

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Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[122] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kuliseha could scarcely
[142] have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception, perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[1] [See P. 28--Analyst]

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.

231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[191] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramõke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
974 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijûs were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/91 cont./

133 [101] Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of [482] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayaku, their [286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakairí Village (Kuyaquatiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual [532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages. 167 621 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children. Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There 574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porina, 622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beiju baked at night.

W 132 /130 cont./ rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely more than 15°. Our good Mehinakú were unhappy that we did W [82] not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices; they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy, and complained incessantly "ulïpe, ulïpe!"

W 122 In the harbor of the Mehinakú we acquired another canoe, meanwhile the Aueto who had accompanied us this far had disappeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also missing.

Y 245 The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the pikí harvest. Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the pikí lay in piles outside Y 251 and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds, the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Caryocar Y [157] butyrosum. No pogu, but piki juice; the pikí seeds with an almond-like taste, an electuary "pikí herb" not at all bad in Y 164 moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin affected, one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores. Y 123 Tumayaua was given pikí as a parting gift for the trip. Only [131] one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about pikí.

B 648 In Bakaïrí village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had B 731 burned down and the people were very much afraid of the previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnifi- B 532 cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered, B 182 one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked. 501

B 123 Bakaïrí village II seemed deserted. The occupants were in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief B [822] Aramóke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us beiju which we could have offered the most distinguished tea guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the B 752 children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on

/330 cont./

000 Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine man in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

I.

*171 131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisehu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinakú [226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

*171 422 [428] The plantings were common property. Everyone had his personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, ● [622] that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

*171 622 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger villages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijús baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kurápa," bad = stingy. He had only a few [979] beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, [621] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied [626] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

/331 cont./

*171 not always in the best hands, and goes to the son, or, if there is
● 622 none, to the son of the sister. In Maigéri the chief had died and left only a daughter, "my intended" in the Bakairí idyl. Tumayaua, the brother of the widow, now became temporary chief; as soon as the girl married, her husband took his place. She received a quantity of the beads which we had given to others; the chief's stool belonged to her.

*171 A number of characteristics of matriarchy are recognizable
611 in the little that I am able to report about these conditions. The
648 sons belong to the tribe of the mother; Antonio said that if one of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ married to Paressí women had children, they would be Paressí. Which, of course, in the case of abducted
*171 women, can only be meant very theoretically. In our time
582 marriages took place between Mehinakú and Nahuquá, between
648 Auetó and Yaulapiti, as well as between Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Auetó, between Kamayurá and Mehinakú, between Batovy Bakaïrí and Kustenaú /Custenau/, between Kulisehu Bakaïrí and
*171 Nahuquá. Just as Mehinakú women lived among the Nahuquá,
591 so had Auetö men married Yaulapiti women and lived in two
648 houses somewhat apart from the Auetó village; they were called "Arauitï."* On the other hand, a Kustenaú man and a Nahuquá

*The Suyá chief who in 1884 gave us the map of the river course was also called an "Arauitï" by the Auetó chief. His strikingly small lip-plug was explained by the fact that he had had the operation later; he himself traced his geographical knowledge back to his own journeys.

man had married and lived among the Bakaïrí, whereas we never observed the opposite, that Bakaïrí women married into
*171 another tribe. Pauhaga, from the first Bakaïrí village on the
591 Batovy, had as his wife Awía's daughter from Maigéri and, when
844 his wife was ready to give birth, came with her to Awiá's house on the Kulisehu; so that she, or rather both of them, as we shall

/337 cont./

*171 842 846 took a new name; in order to explain this, it is by no means necessary to assume that the "soul" of the father entered into the son each time. It is exactly the same in the Karaiben. imu is egg or testicles or father or child, the latter among several tribes already differentiated phonetically:

Ipurucoto /Puricoto/ imu "egg," Bakaïrí "testicles," Tamanako "father," Makuschi /Macusi/ imum "seed." With the pronominal suffix -ru, we find imu-ru, "child," among various tribes: Kumanagoto /Cumanagoto/ umo "my father," amo "your father," Nahuquá umú-ru "my child," amú-ru "your child." Naturally, it comes about everywhere that qualifying additions are supplied or words originally identical deviate from one another phonetically, with the connection forgotten. Thus, Kamayurá has ye-rup "my father," upiá "eggs," ye-reapiá "my testicles"; Auetö has i-tupiá "my testicles," n-upiá "his eggs"; the lingoa geral has çapyá "testicles," çopiá "egg." Among the Bakaïrí "child" and "little" are iméri, "the child of the chief" píma iméri; we may translate it as either "the child of the chief" or "the little chief" as we wish and do not realize in connection with the latter form, which we might apply jokingly to the son, that for the Indian the child is really only the little chief himself, a small edition of the big one. For our feeling, too, this conception is strange and scarcely comprehensible in the case where a girl is involved. But even the girl is the little father and not the little mother; she is made only by the father. In Bakaïrí [601] there are no special words for "son" and "daughter," but rather, if the distinction is required the sex is added. "píma iméri" may [622] [428] mean the daughter as well as the son of the chief. The only daughter of the chief is the heiress of the property and rank, both of which, along with her own property, go to her husband.

*171 846 The little father comes into the world, the umbilical cord is cut, the big father fasts at least until the wound is healed, and with this the new little human being may be regarded as an independent being. The father would surely not observe any precautionary measures if the little one immediately /338/ ran about as healthy as a little chick, but it bleeds and is in danger since it

/13 cont./

161 Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairí, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairí population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, [114] on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, [175] did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairí of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 55, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, [731] and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, [563] and some of these were not expected to return.(9) This number

9. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paressí women and the two Kayabí women who were married to Bakairí men. When Karl von den Steinen visited this Bakairí village again, in the year 1887, one Bakairí man had died in the interval, some had moved to the ranches, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Paressí and Kayabí women, the total number for all the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 81 individuals.

175 The above-mentioned aldeas of the western Bakairí were ●622 at this time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the 648 administration of the state of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the various Bakairí units, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

/14 cont./

175 Reginaldo, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo,
●622 held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim,
648 was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chiefship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1882.

105 The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl
[177] von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian rancho. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, porotos /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen,
Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit.,
p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herds of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western
177 Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still
178 kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their
[191] native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

/14 cont./
105 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
578

11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso
[115] government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

175 /17 cont./
619 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the lost expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Irineo, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and
166 abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
361 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
[103] side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

/18 cont./

175 of the Paranatinga Bakairí was already the same Antonio who
622 had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his two expeditions to the Xingu River and who had become acquainted on his return from the first of these expeditions with Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. President Antonio Correa da Costa confirmed his
[648] caciqueship, extending his authority over the whole region of the Indians who lived on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, naming him the comandante of all the Indians of the upper
175 Xingu River. This extension of the authority of Cacique Antonio
622 by the president of the state was instigated, according to
648 Herrmann Meyer, (22) by the same Paulo Castro who, in the
159

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22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien (IV. Xingú-Expedition) /On His Second Journey in Central Brazil (IV. Xingu Expedition)/," aus einem Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen /From a letter to Prof. Karl von den Steinen/, Cuiabá, d. March 5, 1899, (Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Vol. XXVI, 1899, pp. 261-265), p. 265.

years following his participation in Karl von den Steinen's expedition to the Xingu River, traveled through these regions several times in his tireless search for the "martyrs," and thus had had the opportunity to meet the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. Cacique Antonio then for a long time was the most influential figure in the subsequent development not only of the western Bakairí but also of the eastern Bakairí. He had been born in the Limoeira handicrafts center and came from a family who had lived for a long time in the Rio Paranatinga aldea. The most remote ancestors of whom he had knowledge had still

/18 cont./
lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Karavako, and his father, Seseriari, had participated in the above-mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí, in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducion de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenzo /São Lourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /?conivencia/ between Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Bororo reducion /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/ Coroado, achieved a certain stature in the Bakairí community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

Already in the last decade of the past century, when Herrmann Meyer passed the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí in his two expeditions to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1899, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

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23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral-Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/," March 6. Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198. Idem., "Bericht über seine zweite

/19 cont./

Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/," February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

Antonio with his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

/20 cont./

look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo. The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them. Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the ancestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow countrymen of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects, made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

/20 cont./

Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 342 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 342 574 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased. This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] [533] [535] [352] [123] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room. Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 115 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/21 cont./

622 115 [123] that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by Dona Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 352 353 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style. Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks, /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

159 191 [871]

159 619 [484]

/26 cont./

114 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named
361 Rio Telles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at
622 this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some
[249] raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees
361 from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pitão, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí,
[423] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and
[464] worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio
622 Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea,
593 which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the
361 mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the
159 sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which
593 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his stepson, José Coroado, had become intensified, and after a
361 serious quarrel between them, José Coroado had left Antonio's

/27 cont./

the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly decreased through José Coroado's defection with his people and through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses. He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

/28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing, the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/28 cont./

114 [113] Sept. 1926 bis Aug. 1928
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1926
to Aug. 1928/." pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie.
Annual Set 60. Heft 1/3.

114 115 In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí who had come from Simões Lopes with a herd of oxen to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá insecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Simões Lopes. They were four men and one boy of ten. and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Caminago, or by his native name, Paiugude, came from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu. At the time of my stay in this aldea 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how the memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maimaieti aldea among the Kulisehu Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Macimo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lorenzo, whose native name was Kaiura, and with the other Bakairí. [551] [191] [126] and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí since my former journey. Among other news they told me that [622] [159] old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

/29 cont./

114 115 159 622 died a short time before. Cacique Karía, who in times past had received me so hospitably in Maimaieti aldea, was still living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already old and had remained with his family and a few people at the location of the old Bakairí aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí. 622 159 619 648 114 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga belonged to him and his Bakairí, and he did not want to leave his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairí, Pires, was named cacique of the Xinguanos in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakairí in Cuiabá, I heard that José Corrado and his brother-in-law Chico, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Kulisehu, had died since.

114 622 159 [123] In the course of the journey which I finally undertook, leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1927, I was able to make only a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldea, but he himself visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa Socoro, he had after her death three sons by his second wife. The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also 114 115

/29 cont./

114 115 [164] met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly 114 361 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries [173] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Ribeão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 622 166 101 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires, whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu, 114 115 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the [177] photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./
114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[107] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
[487] among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
622 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
159 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother
114 who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

/31 cont./

622 159 114 had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Simões Lopes Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-style necklace made of stone and shell beads.

114 115 During my stay at Simões Lopes I twice visited the Xinguano settlement situated on the Rio Paranatinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Maimaieti. There I again met Marcellino Caminage and his family (cf. Figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chico, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Paranatinga to Maimaieti aldea and who had since died. The son of this Chico, called André, had been raised on the ranch of Jange Soares so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with pack oxen. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabí Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I still remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, before, always stayed near you on your trip, and so now I stay near you too."

361 622 [166] Now on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga but some distance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows into the river below the Simões Lopes Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two aldeas situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at this time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 12.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at this time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Simões Lopes Post itself, where he occasionally 114 stayed with his people. On leaving Simões Lopes to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo.

/34 cont./

tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the care of the Inspectoria da Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphillis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

4:Schmidt--60 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate II

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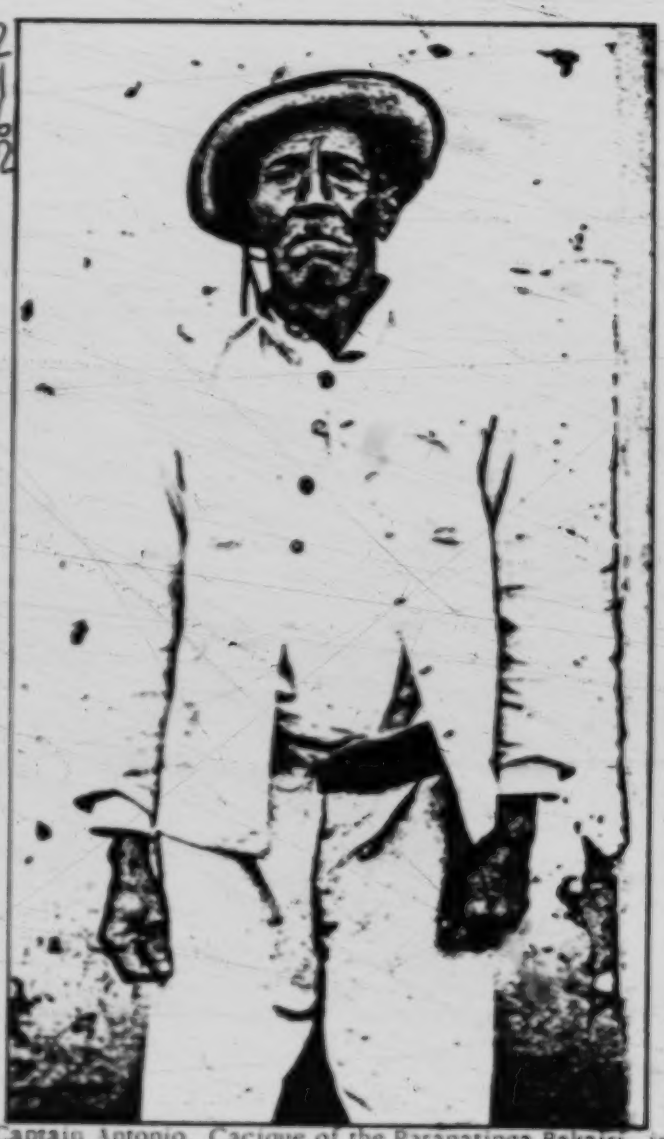

Fig. 1. Captain Antonio, Cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairi, in the year 1927.

4:Schmidt--61 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate III

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Fig. 2. Captain Antonio with his family in front of his house, in the year 1927.

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Fig. 3. Administration building at the Simões Lopes Post.

4:Schmidt--62 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate IV

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Fig. 4. House of the Bakairí. Pires, cacique of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

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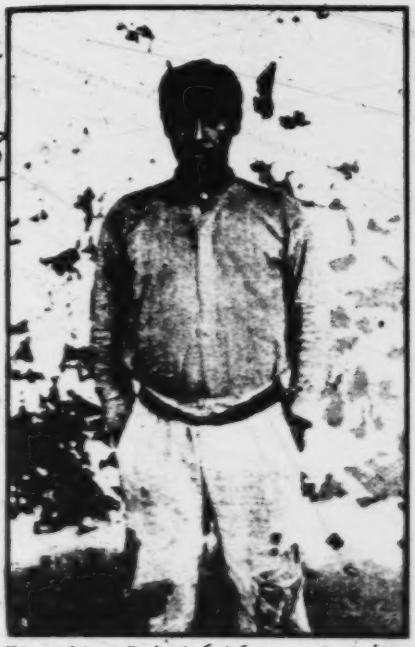

Fig. 10. Bakairí Afonso, Luju's son, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 11. Bakairí Hieronymo, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 12. Cacique Roberto, from the Rio Novo, with his family, in Simões Lopes.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible
proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of
uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunúto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
• [622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunúto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
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Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amúga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
241 munal houses, participated. The *kometé*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of for-
[262] est land. The women would participate by preparing large amounts of food and honey beverage
423 for the workers. The new field would remain the
476 property of the man who initiated the *kometé*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching.
[535] When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

321 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulihi*) were
628 organized by the chief of the village. During
574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and
[622] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

[P. 73-A] After the trading war

437 628 574 [526] over the chiefs organized wrestling matches between teams of the two villages. Before the visitors left, a feast (*tulâki*, swallow feast) was given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

181 721 The Bacairi claim not to have been a warlike people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*pima*) who was assisted by an ● 622 624 *itâida*. There was no chief for the whole tribe. The *itâida*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *itâida* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *itâida* succeeded him.

622 The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arived or when his own village made formal visits. If the [624] village feared attack the *pima* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to undertake retaliation. Discussions concerning dis- [627] putes and other village affairs took place in the [682] ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and [68] others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the [681] common action of the villagers. Exile was con- [762] sidered severe punishment, for the Bacairi say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairi, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.